

# Ethnicity and Musical Identity in the Lyric Landscape of Early Cyprus

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## Abstract

This paper re-examines several standing assumptions about the lyre-types of early Iron Age (IA) Cyprus and how these should be correlated with historical and cultural phases on the island, specifically the pre-Greek ('Eteocypriot') Late Bronze Age (LBA); Aegean immigration in the twelfth and eleventh centuries; and the so-called Phoenician colony period from the ninth century. I introduce an important new piece of LBA evidence connecting the island to the lyric culture of the Levant; challenge the usual 'Aegean' interpretation of IA round-based lyres; and reassess the evidence of the so-called Cypro-Phoenician symposium bowls, which exhibit a basic bifurcation between 'eastern' and 'western' morphologies (as traditionally interpreted). A clearer sense of Cypriot musical identity, as distinct from Aegean and Phoenician, emerges, and new methodological guidelines are developed for future investigations.

## Keywords

Cyprus – Aegean – Phoenicia – symposium bowl (*patera*, *phiale*) – lyre – ethnicity – identity – music

## The Current Picture<sup>1</sup>

Ancient Cypriot music iconography has never been completely assembled, thanks to hundreds of first-millennium terracotta-votive musicians, with

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<sup>1</sup> I thank the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, where I began this investigation as Annual Professor (January–May 2012); and the Cyprus American Archaeological Research

some Late Bronze Age (LBA) antecedents, in collections around the world.<sup>2</sup> Substantial subsets of the material, however, have been surveyed, with several outstanding representations much cited and illustrated.<sup>3</sup> Prominent are depictions of lyres, a class of instrument whose intimate involvement with cultic practice, ethnic expression, and the maintenance of cultural memory in the surrounding regions—Aegean, Levant, North Syria, Anatolia—is well known.<sup>4</sup> These comparanda justify a focused study of the island's lyric landscape, as will be seen.<sup>5</sup>

But the picture is considerably complicated by historical developments in the Iron Age (IA). Following the 'Great Collapse' (c.1200) and the demise of Alashiya, which most scholars identify with all or part of LBA Cyprus, Aegean immigration during the twelfth-eleventh centuries was intensive enough that Greek emerged as the island's majority language by the Archaic period; even Amathus, where 'Eteocypriote' inscriptions persisted until the fourth century, had kings with Greek names. Nevertheless the material record, thoroughly hybrid by the tenth century,<sup>6</sup> suggests a fairly general Greco-Cypriot cultural fusion by c.900 when Phoenician groups, drawn more or less by Troodos copper,

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Institute, where I continued as CAORC/CAARI Fellow (May-June). All drawings are by Glynnis Fawkes.

- 2 These musician figures may be noted for future research: Karageorghis 1991-1999, II (Late Cypriot-Cypro-Geometric), A(vi)1-2, GD1-6, LGA[iii]: 5-7, LGB1, LGC1, LGC9; III (Cypro-Archaic), 171, 174; IV (Cypro-Archaic): I[v]1-8, I[vi]1-7, I[vii]1-19, II[iv]5, III[i]1-10 (ring dances); Va (Cypro-Archaic), I[vii]1, I[ix]1-36, I[x]3, I[xi]h.60-6, I[xi]i.67-80, II[xiii]2, 4-5, II[xiv]1-5, II[xv]1-71; Vb (Cypro-Archaic), Ch. VI, 59, Ch. VII, Ch. VIII[i]1-3, VIII[ii]4, VIII[iii]5-54. Broken ring-dances from Enkomi with presumed central musician: see n. 43. Many more are in individual museum collections and site publications, including: Myres 1914, 338-9, no. 2241-56 (ring-dances, Cesnola collection); Monloup 1984, 134, no. 512-13 (Archaic frame-drummers, Salamis); Yon & Caubet 1988, 4-5, no. 10-12, pl. II (female lyrists, Lapethos); Monloup 1994, 109-117 (Classical female lyrists, Salamis); Vandervondelen 1994.
- 3 General iconographic surveys: Aign 1963, 60-74; Karageorghis 1977, 216; Hermay 1989, 387-93 (Louvre sculptures); Meerschaert 1991; Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 148-51, no. 227-237, 239 (coroplastic, Cesnola Collection); Karageorghis 2006, 78-84, 101-13, 140-52, 217-18; Fariselli 2007 (Phoenician material); Knapp 2011. Lyres: Monloup 1994, 109-112 (female terracottas, Salamis); Lawergren 1998, 49-51; Kolotourou 2002; Paleocosta 1998 (lyre-iconography). Double-pipe and other winds: Flourentzos 1992. Framed drums/percussion: Averett 2002-2004; Kolotourou 2005; Kolotourou 2007. Dance: Lefèvre-Novaro 2007, *pass.*; Fariselli 2010 (Phoenician focus). General studies (use with caution): Zarmas 1975; Jager 2000.
- 4 Stauder 1957; Stauder 1961; Aign 1963; Collon 1980-1983; Maas & Snyder 1989; Norborg 1995; Lawergren 1998; Franklin 2006.
- 5 This is not deny the importance of other Cypriot instrument types, esp. double-pipe and framedrum (see n. 3), nor to suggest that the lyric subculture existed in a musical vacuum.
- 6 Knapp 2008.

settled in various places, with Kition and Amathus the main epicenters.<sup>7</sup> Formal Tyrian political control of Kition, and perhaps elsewhere, probably first emerged in the later eighth century as an extension of Assyrian provincial structure.<sup>8</sup> The inland sites of Idalion and Tamassos fell to Kition in the early fifth and mid-fourth centuries respectively, while rulers with Phoenician names ruled Salamis periodically under the Persians.<sup>9</sup>

One or both of these two cultural trends—Aegean and Phoenician immigration—have been connected with a basic morphological dichotomy, observable in the island's rich lyric evidence, between:

- 1) round-based, symmetrical lyres first attested in an eleventh-century vase painting (*v. infra*), and then regularly in vase painting, votive figurines, and other media; these clearly resemble (n.b.) early Aegean specimens from the LBA to c.600 (and sporadically beyond);
- 2) flat-based, often asymmetrical lyres appearing in the Cypro-Phoenician symposium bowls (*phialai*)<sup>10</sup> between the ninth and sixth centuries (*v. infra*); these adhere to a broad type going back to third-millennium Syro-Levantine contexts, convincingly correlated with the word *knr*<sup>11</sup> and variants in lexical evidence from roughly the same geographical and temporal range (Ebla, Mari, Ugarit, Emar, Hattusha, Egypt, Bible, and 'Greek').<sup>12</sup>

This apparent coincidence of chronology and morphology is systematically elaborated by Lawergren in his important *Distinctions among Canaanite, Philistine, and Israelite Lyres, and their Global Lyrical Contexts* (1998):

Cyprus had both Eastern and Western lyres. Round-based lyres flourished ca. 1100-800 B.C.E. . . . in the wake of Aegean influences . . . The round-based lyres were followed by thin lyres . . . as a result of Phoenician influences beginning ca. 850 B.C.E., but a few Western lyres continued

7 Phoenician expansion generally: Bunnens 1979; Lipinski 2004. Cyprus specifically: Gjerstad 1979; Reyes 1994, 18-21, 23-6.

8 Smith 2008, 261, 264-74, noting that political control of Kition may not have been *continuous* down to the fifth century.

9 Smith 2008, 274-5.

10 *Pi-a-la* (φιάλα) is inscribed on one of the Kourion bowls: Markoe 1985, 73 (Cυ11).

11 I leave the root unvocalized intentionally. A Canaanite form (shift of *ā* to *ō/ū*) is attested c.1200 by *Pap. Anastasi IV* (Gardiner 1937, 47-8 no. 18, line 12.2); the same shift characterizes Hebrew *kinnōr*, 'Greek' κινύρα, and must be posited for the undoubted Phoenician cognate.

12 Lawergren 1998, 58-9.

through this period. Strong Greek influences reemerged in the second half of the sixth century B.C.E. . . . and a very large number of round-based lyres were represented during the fifth century.<sup>13</sup>

Lawergren, while tacitly beginning from a presumed lack of LBA representations, prudently avoids drawing definite conclusions about the pre-Greek period. Deger-Jalkotzky more boldly suggested that lyres, previously *unknown*, are an ethnic marker of Aegean influx (for her other morphological criteria, *v. infra*).<sup>14</sup> Comparable is the assumption that the Cypriot lyres are but a variety of 'Greek stringed instruments'.<sup>15</sup> Fariselli, in her valuable recent study of Phoenician music and dance, also assumes a basic contrast between Phoenician and 'Aegean' lyre-shapes in discussing the *phiálai*;<sup>16</sup> but what 'Aegean' means in eighth-seventh century cultural terms, and within the iconographic repertoire of the symposium bowls, is not determined.

I too followed the dualistic view in a premature discussion of both the symposium bowls and the legendary Kinyras whose kinship to the Divine Kinnāru-lyre of Ugarit is now beyond doubt, although the circumstances of his arrival in Cyprus, and eventual metamorphosis into the island's central culture-hero, await full explication.<sup>17</sup> But closer examination has convinced me that the current picture is incomplete. A crucial problem is the unevenness of the archaeological record, with a general dearth of LBA music-iconography. An *ályros* pre-Greek Cyprus is *a priori* unlikely given the many third-millennium Syro-Levantine and Mesopotamian specimens.<sup>18</sup> And the LBA lexical evidence shows the word *knr* and/or associated morphology extended beyond the Syro-Levantine heartland (Egypt, Hattusha, and a Hurrian hybrid form at Emar).<sup>19</sup> That the *knr*—word and/or instrument—was equally known on contemporary Cyprus would perfectly accord with the pre-Greek island's cosmopolitanism, which already finds clear musical expression in several Mesopotamianizing *harps* appearing on thirteenth-century bronze-stands from Kourion.<sup>20</sup> These

13 Lawergren 1998, 49.

14 Deger-Jalkotzky 1994, esp. 21-2.

15 Maas & Snyder 1989, 8, making the point that they are the only representations from the Dark Age.

16 Fariselli 2007, 13 nn. 15-16, 19, 23, with further analysis of dance in Fariselli 2010.

17 This paper supersedes Franklin 2006, 44-5. Kinyras generally: Baurain 1980; relationship to Ugaritic Kinnāru: Ribichini 1982; Franklin in press-b. I shall treat the problem fully in Franklin forthcoming.

18 See n. 4.

19 Lawergren 1998, 58-9.

20 Franklin in press-b, with references.

very instruments, admittedly, have been contrasted with the round-based IA lyres in attempting to distinguish two phases of Cypriot ethnomusical history.<sup>21</sup> The Kourion stands certainly do give a vital glimpse of pre-Greek musical conceptions, and bear importantly on the Kinyras question.<sup>22</sup> Yet it need not follow that lyres *per se* were a novelty of the IA. Recall that the personal name Kinyras itself (< *kinýra*) is twice attested further west at Mycenaean Pylos—once in a priestly context quite in keeping with its implications.<sup>23</sup>

Clearly even a single lucky find could alter the picture significantly. In this paper I shall first present a key piece of LBA evidence which has been overlooked, documenting at least one lyric dimension of pre-Greek Cyprus. I shall then reassess the Aegeanness of the island's round-based lyre-representations. Finally we shall consider the implications of our new evidence and interpretations for understanding, in broad cultural terms, the morphological 'confrontation' seen in the *phiálai*.

### A Lost 'Daughter of Kinyras' in the Cyprus Museum

A lovely but broken faience bowl, unprovenanced but dated by stylistic criteria to the fourteenth-thirteenth century (LC II), has been on display in the Cyprus Museum for many years (Figure 1).<sup>24</sup> It was tersely described by P. Dikaios in the 1961 guide:

Remarkable whitish faience bowl covered with blue-green glaze, probably a local imitation of an Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty prototype. Painted ornamentation on the interior: two human figures, one dancing and, to their left, Bes; in the field, conventional trees, below, bird and fish. Fourteenth century B.C.<sup>25</sup>

The bowl belongs to a larger class of 'Egyptian or Egyptianizing pieces [sc. which] consist chiefly of blue green or white shallow bowls . . . and scenes with roughly drawn fish, boats, dancing and instrument-playing figures, hieroglyphs,

21 Sherratt 1992, 336 (*v. infra*).

22 Franklin in press-b.

23 Franklin 2006, 47; Franceschetti 2008, 313-15.

24 Nicosia, Inv. G63; h. 4.2. cm, diam. 13.2. The best image known to me is Karageorghis 1976, 178 fig. 137; also Dikaios 1961, 153-4, no. 6, pl. XXXIII.5; Peltenburg 1968, 303, includes it among his unpublished specimens (vii).

25 Dikaios 1961, 153-4.

and lotus flowers'.<sup>26</sup> The origin of these bowls has long posed a puzzle, being variously held as Egyptian imports, Egyptianizing objects from a Canaanite workshop, or local Cypriot imitations of Egyptian styles and scenes.<sup>27</sup> Some see this elusiveness as their most striking feature, with more than 130 faience vases and fragments known from LBA Cyprus reflecting 'the cross currents of cultural influences on the island during this period of eclecticism as no other single body of material does'.<sup>28</sup>

Dikaios declined to identify the left-hand figure, whose interpretation is made difficult by several breaks in the bowl. Degradation of the glaze along the shard-edges has endowed them, and hence the join lines, with a darkish color very close to the lines of the figure itself, over which they crisscross confusingly.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, patient observation and continual reference to the underside of the dish, where the breaks may be clearly distinguished, enable a confident, if not entirely complete, reconstruction.<sup>30</sup> She is in fact a musician who plays for the dancing figure, while the musical god Bes oversees the performance.<sup>31</sup> She is a '*kinyrístria*', wielding a lyre of Levantine type.

Parts of the soundbox can just be detected. Two give away details, however, are quite clear. First is the slight incurve to the arms where they join the crossbar. There is also a largish, bird-head finial on the right end of the crossbar, and perhaps faint traces of another on the left; there are close parallels in Hittite and Egyptian art, one of the latter featuring a lyre-girl with a Bes tattoo.<sup>32</sup> Two tassels appear to be attached to the yoke; a similar detail is found on lutes in

26 Foster 1979, 50 and n. 316. It is not clear whether she interprets our bowl as a musician, or has in mind the lute-player bowls (*v. infra*).

27 See esp. Peltenburg 1986, 155-61 (158 for dating), noting lack of stylistic deviations which might betray Cypriot manufacture; he challenges their critical reception as 'poor, local copies of Egyptian work' (Peltenburg 1972, p. 131); Levantine workshop(s) are considered possible, but less likely (contrast Peltenburg 1968, 143-51). But note that other types *can* be attributed to a Cypriot faience industry: Foster 1979, 49-55; Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 62.

28 Peltenburg 1972, 129.

29 Cf. Peltenburg 1968, 304 (bowl no. 5d): 'To the left a female with calf-length billowing robes. She seems to hold something over a papyrus which grows from the boat, but the brown designs are too fugitive here to make it out'.

30 I thank Glynnis Fawkes for sharp observations and drawings during a museum visit on May 17, 2012. The dish is displayed vertically, so both top and bottom may be examined.

31 Bes and music: Hickmann 1961, 36-9 figs. 15-17; Manniche 1991, 48 fig. 26, 57-8 and fig. 32, 110, 116-19 *passim*, with fig. 72.

32 Hittite: Inandik vase. Egypt: Hickmann 1961, 2.1, 32-3 fig. 9; Manniche 1991, 48 fig. 26 (nineteenth dynasty, Bes tattoo; bird-finial one end only); 108 fig. 64 (twenty-first or twenty-second dynasty); Schuol 2004, Taf. 18, no. 52.1, 52.3-4.

Akhenaten's harem and in Hittite/Neo-Hittite representations.<sup>33</sup> Our lyrist has a short cape, paralleled by female musicians on a Cypro-Phoenician symposium bowl and a cognate musical procession/dance scene in a North Syrian (NS) ivory pyxis from Nimrud.<sup>34</sup> She also holds her instrument horizontally, again as usual in Canaanite and New Kingdom representations.<sup>35</sup> The exact position of the player's arms, and indeed whether both are shown, has eluded repeated autopsy and comparison.

This musical reading is corroborated by several closely related faience specimens of similar date. One, said to be from near Idalion, is well preserved and shows another Egyptian(izing) female figure, in diaphanous dress, playing a lute against a background of lotus-blossoms.<sup>36</sup> A very similar dish in Leiden has a lute-girl with a Bes-tattoo on her thigh.<sup>37</sup> A third lutenist, from a tomb at Maroni and heavily effaced, may be reconstructed through a close parallel from Egypt itself.<sup>38</sup> While all three scenes are Egyptian(izing), the Levantine lyre shows that the corpus is to be associated specifically with the international musical groups cultivated in the New Kingdom.<sup>39</sup> The myth that Kinyras' daughters, having offended Aphrodite, slept with foreigners and ended their lives in Egypt, may be relevant here.<sup>40</sup> Wherever these bowls were actually manufactured, our *kinyrístria*—or at least her instrument—is ultimately 'from' the Levant.

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- 33 Egypt: Manniche 1991, 86 fig. 50. Hittite/Neo-Hittite: Schuol 2004, Taf. 4, no. 11 and 15, 7 no. 26, 9 no. 29, 11 no. 35, 12 no. 37-8. With lutes the question may arise whether these tassels are not rather the ends of strings. Even when their position at the end of the neck makes this possible, they are sufficiently long that one must suppose that they have been worked into an adornment (cf. Schuol 2004, 59). In other cases the tassels come from the middle of the neck.
- 34 Bowl: Markoe 1985, Cy13 (Kourion), where the rightmost musician of a trio (probably double-piper) clearly has the cape; Culican 1982, 15 and n. 6, detected one on the second (lyrist) as well, and noted the Nimrud bowl (Mallowan 1966, no. 531; assignment to NS group: Barnett 1935, 189).
- 35 Megiddo lyrist: Frankfort 1970, 270-1. Egypt: Manniche 1991, 43 fig. 21, 86 fig. 50, 89 fig. 52, 91 fig. 54 (twice); also Wegner 1950, Taf. 7a, 9a-b (the dimensions of 9b being close to our lyrist). The *vertical* position is see in Manniche 1991, 48 fig. 26, 53 no. 30.
- 36 New York, MMA inv. no. 74-51.5074 = Cesnola 1903, pl. CVIII, no. 4 = Myres 1914, 274, no. 1574 = Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 63 no. 99. Also Aign 1963 61, fig. 26; Peltenburg 1968, 307.
- 37 RMO Leiden, inv. AD 14, 18th-19th dynasty.
- 38 London, BM (18)98.12-1.145, from Maroni, tomb 17: Johnson 1980, 24, no. 136, pl. XXVI.136 = Peltenburg 1986, 158 no. 35 = Peltenburg 2007, fig. 5b.
- 39 See e.g. Hickmann 1961, 2.1, 30-1 (fig. 8). For the court of Akhenaten: Green 1992.
- 40 [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3.182, with the parallel in Serv. on Verg. *Ecl.* 10.18.



The cautious will warn that ‘pots are not people’—that the dish was perhaps valued for its exotic imagery, and so need say nothing about contemporary Cypriot music. But the dishes’ relevance to musical reality is vividly support by the processed tortoise-shells found aboard the fourteenth-century Uluburun wreck.<sup>41</sup> R. Eichmann and S. Psaroudakes have concluded that these were intended for Egyptian-style lutes like those of the faience dishes.<sup>42</sup> The shells corroborate, materially, the circulation of musical technology suggested by iconography and the lexical evidence. They join the ship’s cargo as a microcosm of LBA palatial exchange—recalling that Cyprus was, if not the ship’s origin, at least a major point of call.

### Round-Based Lyres between East and West

Our ‘lost daughter’ is the clearest proof one can reasonably expect that pre-Greek Cyprus was not a lyric blank canvas. Yet by reminding us that the absence of evidence is a risky foundation for historical constructions, she bids us wonder further whether she herself represents but one element of a richer landscape which remains as yet otherwise invisible. Consider for instance the hundred or so broken terracotta figurines from the LBA sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi; while these clearly predict the 1A votive dance-groups, they are unfortunately too fragmentary for specific instruments to be identified.<sup>43</sup> With several LBA cylinder seals showing infinite processions or ring-dances, one reasonably assumes musical accompaniment which is simply not depicted.<sup>44</sup>

41 For the wreck generally, Bass 1986; Pulak 1998. The shells are unpublished.

42 I thank Eichmann and Psaroudakes for a group email-discussion with C. Pulak (11/8-25/2008).

43 Courtois 1971, 326-56 (note esp. 348, fig. 145); Karageorghis 1991-1999, II, 64-5, dating late LC III/early CG 1A; so too Webb 1999, 112; Webb 2001, 76, 79.

44 Schaeffer 1952, pl. VII.1, 3-5; further references in Courtois & Webb 1987, 76 n. 249, 78 n. 253; in the fascinating ideological scheme of Webb 2002 these scenes exemplify obedience to authority/maintenance of political status quo. Two such seals show a figure carrying an object interpreted as a stringed instrument (Aign 1963, 60 with fig. 25), but this is very doubtful. The objects, not resembling each other, also find no parallels among known representations of lyres and harps; are in impossible playing positions; and would have horizontal strings. First seal: Schaeffer 1952, pl. VII.4; Webb 1999, 272-3 fig. 87.2. Second seal: Gjerstad, et al. 1934-1972, I, 474 no. 67 and pl. LXXVI no. 67 (‘From the left approaches a procession of four adorers. The first of them holds a lyre’); Karageorghis 2003, 280-1, no. 320, with comments of D. Collon, who more plausibly suggests that it is a fan, comparing Collon 1987, no. 270.



So the standard Aegean interpretation of the island's round-based instruments should be reconsidered. I shall begin from what is at once the earliest representation, and that which permits the clearest sub-Mycenaean interpretation. The point is to show that, even here, 'Greek' and 'Cypriot' cannot be easily distinguished. This case will then serve *a fortiori* as a caution against overly Grecocentric readings of the abundant later material.

The piece in question is an eleventh-century *kálathos* from Kouklia/Old Paphos, roughly the same date and place as the Opheltas *obelós* which first documents the Greek language on Cyprus.<sup>45</sup> In one frame is shown a warrior, armed with a sword, holding a round-based lyre, and parading or dancing (Figure 2). Another frame probably depicts a man sacrificing a goat or ram on an altar placed next to a tree. The vase belongs to a larger group of eleventh-tenth century pictorial pottery apparently used, among other objects, as status symbols in Mycenaean-style tombs of the period.<sup>46</sup> Figurative painting alternates with geometric decoration; on the whole the lack of *precise* Aegean parallels for their iconographical repertoire makes it best to describe them as 'Cypriot'. Yet a subset contains representations of warrior or hunter figures, armed and engaged in activities described as 'macho' or 'heroic', and novel with respect to earlier Cypriot iconography.<sup>47</sup> In one striking case a man is drinking from a *kýlix*-like vessel and holding what appears to be a figure-eight body shield—an armament which was 'uniquely Aegean with a history of apparently potent symbolism', since it had gone out of actual use centuries earlier.<sup>48</sup> Sherratt has attractively argued that this is 'a symbol of a specifically Aegean, Greek-speaking past . . . being used to analogise and define the present'.<sup>49</sup> The Kouklia *kálathos* may well convey a comparable message, resonating with a traditional topos of Greek poetry, especially epic—the conflation of warrior and singer, familiar from Achilles singing *kléa andrôn* on his lyre and Odysseus stringing his bow like an expert lyrist his instrument. This vase seems good evidence of sub-Mycenaean epic flourishing in this part of the island.<sup>50</sup> Yet these Aegean dimensions are not incompatible with Coldstream's apt comparison to 'Kinyras

45 Nicosia, Kouklia T.9:7, proto-bichrome *kálathos*, LCIIIB: Iakovou 1988, 72 (Cat. no. 29), Figs. 68-7. Opheltas *obelós*: Palaepaphos *Skales*, Tomb 49 no. 16: Karageorghis 1980.

46 Coldstream 1989, esp. 330-1 (eleventh-century chamber-tombs with long *drómoi* have higher concentration of status symbols than other burial types, and appear in areas of later Greek-speaking kingdoms); cf. Rupp 1985, 126-7; Sherratt 1992, 330.

47 Sherratt 1992, 332-3.

48 Iakovou 1988, 71 (Cat. no. 15), Fig. 34; Sherratt 1992, 335 (quotation).

49 Sherratt 1992, 336.

50 Franklin in press-a.

himself' on the strength of the vase's Paphian provenance.<sup>51</sup> Sherratt qualified this view by stressing stylistic differences from other LBA Cypriot musical representations and the instrument's apparent Aegean morphology; if he 'is intended to represent Kinyras... then it is a quite different Kinyras... the more recognisably Greek version of himself... the appropriation and transformation of an element of common Cypriot "history" into something intended to be identified as peculiarly Greek-Cypriot'.<sup>52</sup> While Sherratt's emphasis on hybridity offers a useful way forward for considering the round-based lyre morphology in general, note that even her reading begs the question of whether round-based lyres were, or were not, a novelty of Aegean immigration.

S. Deger-Jalkotzy saw a further Aegean marker in the tassels on the Kouklia musician's sword, comparing a similarly adorned weapon on a potsherd (LH IIIC) from sub-Mycenaean Lefkandi on Euboea.<sup>53</sup> Yet very similar streamers grace the lyrist on the eleventh-century 'Orpheus jug' from Megiddo (Figure 3) and another non-musician figure from the same site.<sup>54</sup> Any Philistine/Aegean explanation of this latter piece must account for the even stronger Canaanite elements of the jug's style and iconography.<sup>55</sup> Not least is the *knr*-shape of the instrument itself, which makes this figure more obviously a '*kinyras*' than his counterpart at Old Paphos. And while a lyrist in company with animals made comparison with Orpheus inevitable, this was an ancient Syro-Levantine motif going back to the third millennium.<sup>56</sup>

A further Aegean lyre-marker proposed by Deger-Jalkotzky, not found in the Kouklia *kálathos*, is the 'zigzag' lyre-arms found in several Mycenaean-Minoan images,<sup>57</sup> and two early IA Cypriot representations. One is on a late tenth-century vase from the necropolis of Kaloriziki (Kourion area), which in another panel shows the same (or similar) figure pouring a libation; together the images suggest some ritual involving music and drinking, whether symposium, funerary ritual, or some combination.<sup>58</sup> The other is the famous Hubbard amphora

51 Coldstream 1989, 330-1; cf. Paleocosta 1998, 56.

52 Sherratt 1992, 337.

53 Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 21 and 18 fig. 4.3. This figure did not necessarily carry a lyre.

54 IAA 13.1921, strainer-spout jug, Megiddo stratum VIA, c.1100: Dothan 1982, 150-3 and fig. 21.1 (pl. 61).

55 Yasur-Landau 2008.

56 Cf. the seal in Westenholz 2007, 110 no. 70 (BLM Jerusalem, 2462), dating to c.2900-2350 BCE.

57 Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 18 fig. 4 (cf. already Aign 1963, 352). Her comparanda include Maas & Snyder 1989, 16 fig. 2b (Chania), 18 fig. 3b (Tiryns).

58 Nicosia, Kaloriziki Tomb 11, no. 5: Dikaios 1936-1937, 71; Rutten 1939, 442; Karageorghis & des Gagniers 1974, 1.33, 2.97 (no. IX.1).

(Famagusta district, c.800), a longtime centerpiece of the Cyprus Museum (Figure 4).<sup>59</sup> Markoe convincingly explicated the funerary symbolism of these scenes, in which a lyric choral ritual honors the deceased who sits enthroned amid symbols of death and rebirth.<sup>60</sup> There is a striking parallel in the Rāpi'u text from Ugarit, where a *kinnāru*-led musical ensemble regales the underworld king who is closely associated with royal ancestor cult.<sup>61</sup> The Hubbard vase, with its well-paralleled Syro-Anatolian and Egyptian iconographic elements going back to the MBA, offers little contextual purchase for interpreting the musician's instrument as 'Aegean' rather than 'Cypriot'.

Indeed, two southern Anatolian cylinder seals, not noticed by Deger-Jalkotzky, also show lyres with zigzag arms and round bases.<sup>62</sup> These seals, now dated to the *early* second millennium, can no longer be explained through Aegean diaspora. Li Castro and Scardina have recently shown that this was probably an early areal attribute spanning the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean.<sup>63</sup> In both we find the lyrist with animals; but again Orpheus<sup>64</sup> must yield to third-millennium Syro-Levantine parallels (*v. supra*). One should also note several further early Syro-Anatolian lyre-representations whose bases are rather indeterminate between round and flat; or which seem flat-based while having slightly zigzag arms. Their relationship to the more rigidly defined ground of 'East' and 'West' is anything but clear.<sup>65</sup> Do they constitute a chronological transition from one to the other? A geographical one? Both? Note that their temporal and geographic distribution makes it perfectly possible that some at least went by a form of the word *knr*, despite not closely resembling the instruments we normally associate with that word.<sup>66</sup>

59 Hubbard amphora: Nicosia, 1938/XI-2/3; Dikaios 1936-1937; Karageorghis & des Gagniers 1974, 1.8-9, 2.7-9.

60 Markoe 1988.

61 RS 24.252 = *KTU/CAT* 1.108; Pardee 1988, 75-118. See further Franklin in press-b.

62 The seals are 1) Adana Archaeology Museum 35.999 (Tarsus): Porada 1956, 400, fig. 35; cf. 235, 394; for the corrected dating to c.1800, see Collon 1987, 43, no. 148; 2) British Museum 134306 (probably from Mardin): Rimmer 1969, 28 and pl. VIIIa.; Collon 1987, 43, no. 149. Both seals well discussed/illustrated by Li Castro & Scardina 2011, 208-11, figs. 11-12. The challenge these posed to an exclusively Aegean interpretation was recognized by Maas & Snyder 1989, 9 (even on the basis of their former dating to c.1200).

63 Li Castro & Scardina 2011.

64 Goldman 1935, 537-8; Porada 1956, 204.

65 Lawergren 1998, 47, is appropriately agnostic on their affiliation. Li Castro & Scardina 2011, 211 (with figs. 13-15) decline to address them as being too vaguely rendered.

66 I include here the Hattic/Hittite form in *z*- and cognates: Ivanov 1999.

Thus while Lawergren's distinction between 'eastern' and 'western' lyre-morphology remains broadly valid, it is not clear just where the line should be drawn. Cyprus falls precisely within 'disputed' area. If 'western' is equated with 'Aegean' and 'eastern' with Canaanite/Phoenician, the island becomes a passive matrix for the implantation of foreign lyric identities—an idea not only politically objectionable, but inherently implausible. Admittedly there was indeed a time when lyres first appeared on the island. But the high antiquity of chordophones in the Aegean, Anatolia, and larger Near East makes it rather unlikely that such instruments, in whatever shape, were otherwise unknown before the cosmopolitan LBA (our 'lost daughter').

We must therefore seriously consider that the round-based lyres of 1A Cyprus are in fact, morphologically, *Cypro-Aegean hybrids*—that similar instruments already inhabited the pre-Greek island. This hypothesis solves several problems in a stroke. First, it explains the early ubiquity of round-based lyres in the popular medium of votive-figurines. Second, it accounts for the rich non-Aegean iconographic elements in the relevant representations (e.g. Hubbard amphora). Finally, while these lyres would no longer be *unambiguous* Aegean ethnic markers, they would remain *compatible* with early Aegean cultural expression in a 'colonial' environment, if other elements justify the reading (e.g. Kouklia *kálathos*).

### East Meets West: The Cypro-Phoenician Symposium Bowls

Our new *kinyrístria* also complicates the 'eastern' lyres of the Cypro-Phoenician *phíalai*. Did Levantine morphology disappear in the less cosmopolitan early 1A, to return with Phoenician immigration? Or was there a continuous tradition, as yet unrepresented archeologically? Certainty is impossible. But the more abundant 1A material permits safer deductions than the LBA. The early votive-figurines are crucial. Their instruments, though roughly-formed, are, as far as I have found, distinctly round. The popular nature of the medium, and the large number of examples, combine to guarantee that the round-based morphology was, if not universal, by far the dominant Cypriot form prior to the Phoenician influx.

The so-called Cypro-Phoenician symposium bowls, manufactured from c.900-600 BCE, have been found far and wide, including Cyprus, Greece (especially Crete), Iraq (Nimrud), Italy (especially Etruria), Iran, and Israel.<sup>67</sup>

67 I follow the catalogue numbers of Markoe 1985 where possible. The literature is enormous. A good doxographic survey is Neri 2000, 3-13; cf. Falsone 1988, 95.

Despite the lack of examples from Phoenicia itself—with minimal excavation of most major sites—there is little doubt that early production centers were located here.<sup>68</sup> It has also been possible, especially by comparison with the Nimrud ivories, to distinguish broadly between Phoenician and NS traditions, in this and other media, on stylistic and technical criteria—with the former more obviously Egyptianizing and favoring more symmetrical, balanced compositions.<sup>69</sup> There are, however, a number of intermediate examples.

Establishing more precise geographic origins for specific bowls is famously difficult, with many factors in play. Plunder, deportation of craftsman, and willful hybridity underlie the rich, complex evidence from Nimrud. Itinerant/immigrant craftsman and local imitation are often supposed, especially for Crete and Italy/Etruria.<sup>70</sup> And all bowls were subject to wide circulation through the usual mechanisms of elite exchange and desire for luxury imports.<sup>71</sup> But some broad correlations are possible between distribution and known historical phases. Winter's vision of an exclusive ninth-century Greco-Syrian market<sup>72</sup> was clouded by early new finds from Lefkandi (c.900) and Crete, which indicate parallel Phoenician activity.<sup>73</sup> It remains the case, however, that the devastation of Syrian cities by Sargon (722-05) effectively terminated the older NS trade westward.<sup>74</sup> The more symbiotic Assyrian policy towards the coastal cities enabled the Phoenician schools to continue their development and circulation. This later phase coincides with Phoenician colonial ventures in the West, the regular appearance of bowls in Italy and Etruria, and the use of Spanish silver for the *phiálai*.<sup>75</sup>

Now it has long been recognized that some portion of the *phiálai* were probably produced on Cyprus.<sup>76</sup> Not only have many of the bowls been found there, but some depict known Cypriot material culture, including ceramic vessels (Figure 5)<sup>77</sup> and wheeled vehicles.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, several bowls contain Greek

68 Falsone 1988.

69 Barnett 1939, etc.; Winter 1976, 6-11; Falsone 1988, 80-1 with references.

70 Neri 2000, 3-13; Markoe 2003; Falsone 1988, 94-5.

71 See recently Vella in press.

72 Winter 1976, 11-22.

73 Falsone 1988, 106; Popham 1995; Neri 2000, 12; Markoe 2003, 211.

74 Winter 1976, 17-20.

75 Falsone 1988, 105-6; Neri 2000, 4-5.

76 Gjerstad 1946; Markoe 1985, 6-9; Falsone 1988, 94-5.

77 See Gjerstad 1946, 5, 7, diagnosing Cypriot pottery and dress in Cy3 (Idalion, his Proto-Cypriote I class, which otherwise exhibits clear NS stylistic traits: Falsone 1988, 96) and Cy5 (Kourion, Gjerstad's Proto-Cypriote III).

78 Culican 1982, 14 (vehicles in outer band of Cy13).

inscriptions in the so-called Cypro-syllabic script unique to the island. While inscriptions could be added secondarily to imported bowls, in one case (Cyn, Kourion) the owner's name was clearly engraved at the time of manufacture, accommodated by the surrounding imagery.<sup>79</sup> Last but not least, Cyprus is the only area which has produced finds, in both votive and funerary contexts, throughout the life-cycle of the bowls.<sup>80</sup>

With this we may turn to the subset of bowls containing musical scenes. The basic motif is generally seen as a celebration of Astarte/'Aphrodite',<sup>81</sup> probably representing, as Fariselli argues, a multistage celebration involving choral song by cultic groups around a divine image.<sup>82</sup> The singers supported by the fourth-century temple at Phoenician Kition are a much-cited analogy.<sup>83</sup> One finds various combinations of goddess/god, altar, and/or offerings-table (Cr11, Cy3, G3, G8, U6); a procession of normally female<sup>84</sup> musicians; dancers (Cr7, Cy3, G3); dancing musicians (U7, drummers); and offerings-bearers (Cr7, Cr11, Cy3 (?), Cy5, Cy6, Cy7 (?), G3, U6). All elements are rarely found together (G3?, Cy3); usually the scene is more or less abbreviated.<sup>85</sup> In cases where the goddess scene merges with royal and/or elite banquet (Cy5, Cy6), a hierogamic reading seems plausible.<sup>86</sup> That interpretation is more elusive when the context is banquet alone (Cy13, second band), although one might still fall back on 'sacred festival'.<sup>87</sup> Sometimes a fragmentary context makes closer interpretation hazardous (Cy7, Cy13, outer band).<sup>88</sup>

79 Gjerstad 1946, 12-16.

80 Neri 2000, 4-5 with her table.

81 Markoe 1985, 59 (but cf. Winter 1990, 241); Neri 2000, 4-5; Fariselli 2007, 13-14. G3, however, also appears to depict a male deity (Markoe 1985, 204).

82 Fariselli 2007, 13 (comparing cultic costumes of Cr7 and G8); Fariselli 2010, 14-16.

83 Amadasi & Karageorghis 1977 C1 (pp. 103-26).

84 As female cult scenes, see e.g. Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 187-8, on no. 306 (Cy3) = Karageorghis 2006, 112-13, no. 84, fig. 97. Their gender is questioned by Burgh 2004, 131-3 (commenting on Cy3), suggesting that gender *ambiguity* may have sometimes been intentional; cf. Knapp 2011, 125. Karageorghis 1999, 16, believes that of the two mirrored groups now known to have graced the presumed royal banquet of Cy6, one was female and the other male. Fariselli 2007, 11-12 n. 10 notes the male pipers on Cy5 and Cy13 (third band: reclining symposiast).

85 Note the suggestion of Fariselli 2010, 16, that the offering-bearers of Cy6 are also dancing.

86 The argument for Cy5 hinges upon Κυπρομέδουσα ('She Ruling Cyprus') over the female figure; with 'king' perhaps over the male: Karageorghis 2002, 156 (with fig. 322), 177. Cy6 depends upon the addition of orgiastic-sympotic imagery: Karageorghis 1993.

87 Neri 2000, 3-4; Fariselli 2010, 13-14.

88 In these two cases, where mythological narratives are suspected, the musical processions may evoke an underlying ritual reality.

Returning to the question of lyric identity, it will be seen from the clearly cultic scenes that the makeup of the 'orchestra' is in principle very consistent, the full complement being lyre, double-pipe,<sup>89</sup> and hand-percussion (usually framedrum). This combination has clear affinities with Levantine traditions going back to the LBA; compare the musician guilds of Ugarit and the Rāpi'u text<sup>90</sup> and the musical prophets met by Saul (1 Sam. 10:5-6). Considerable variation in the order of musicians suggests that this element is insignificant. Emphasis is achieved rather by duplication and omission. Thus U7, by showing only dancing drummers, calls attention to this aspect/phase of ritual; the orchestra is probably implied. From the remaining bowls it is clear that lyres enjoyed some prominence. As the accompanying table shows, lyres alone appear in every other clearly cultic case. Often more than one is shown, evoking the massed *kinnōr*-lyres of the Jerusalem temple and the *kinyrá-dai* of Paphos.<sup>91</sup> By contrast, the double-pipe is never certainly multiplied,<sup>92</sup> and is sometimes omitted altogether. Consider that the *kinnāru* was the only instrument divinized at Ugarit, and compare Kinyras himself and his Roman-era avatar Apollo *Kenyrístēs*.<sup>93</sup> This material fully justifies our focus on lyric subcultures.

As it happens, only the lyres exhibit clear morphological variety, between Lawergren's 'eastern' and 'western' types (Table 1; Figures 6 and 7). This evidence has been neglected in previous typological analyses of the corpus, even though 'when neighboring cultures share the same symbols yet choose to represent

89 Fariselli 2007, 11 and n. 6, would see single-pipes on Cy5 and Cy7. But these are surely double, shown in parallel (as often in Greece); this seems guaranteed by Comp7, where the pipes diverge just enough to prove their doubleness. Her final single-pipe example (Cy13, inner band) is more persuasive; but here the exceptional rustic context (played by stable-boy) only proves the rule that the more sophisticated cult-music used *double*-pipes.

90 Franklin in press-b.

91 Note esp. Mitford 1961, 13 no. 32: ὁ ἀρχὸς τῶν Κινυραδῶν (Hellenistic). Is it significant that 'western' lyres are never duplicated? Or this due to the late and abbreviated nature of these particular scenes?

92 Fariselli 2007 (11 and n. 6, 12 and n. 12) would see two pipers in Cy7, seemingly misreading the drawing in Markoe 1985; a photograph (Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 186-7 no. 305) shows clearly that the leftmost figure has a round-based lyre, as Marquand 1887, 326-8, already saw (for its telltale floral decor, *v. infra*). Cy13 (second band) *may* have had two pipers; but the following figure is broken, and could have been lyrist or drummer. Even so, the bowl is very late, and we are at some remove from the basic cultic scene; the context is strongly sympotic, helping explain the oddity of a reclining male pipe and seated female drummer in the third band.

93 *Kenyrístēs*: Mitford 1960, 75-7, with new reading by Cayla 2001.



TABLE 1 *Lyre-ensembles in the Cypro-Phoenician symposium bowls*

Bowl <sup>94</sup>	Find Spot	Phase <sup>95</sup>	Ensemble <sup>96</sup>	Lyre <sup>97</sup>
<i>OJA</i>	Lefkandi	I c.900	[?]/L/L/P	E
Comp7	Golgoi, Cyp.	10th cent.	P/D/L	E
Cy3	Idalion, Cyp.	I c.825	D/L/P	E
U6	Luristan (?)	I c.825	D/L/L/P	E
Cr11	Mt Ida, Crete	II-III	L/L/L	E
G3	Olympia	II before 725	P/D/L	W
G8	Sparta (?)	II before 725	L/L/D/L	E
Cy6	Kourion, Cyp. <sup>98</sup>	III early 7th	D/L/P	E
Cy7	Kourion, Cyp.	III early 7th	L/P/D(?)	W
Cy5	Salamis, Cyp.	IV later 7th	D/P/L	W <sup>99</sup>
Cy13	Kourion, Cyp.	IV later 7th	?/L/P(?) <sup>100</sup>	W <sup>101</sup>

94 By catalogue numbers in Markoe 1985, except for *OJA* = Popham 1995.

95 Markoe's dating scheme (used here) is, after close inspection, fundamentally compatible with Gjerstad 1946. Both are based on an assumed typological development towards greater complexity. But the reliability of this criterion is undermined by the existence of multiple workshops/sub-traditions, some potentially more conservative than others: Culican 1982, 22; also the critique of Winter 1990.

96 Back to front. L = lyre; P = double-pipe; D = framedrum.

97 I retain Lawergren's 'eastern' (E) and 'western' (W) without equating 'western' and 'Aegean' (*v. supra*).

98 The 'Kourion' bowls come from Cesnola's notorious horde, suspected of being a sensationalist assemblage by Cesnola himself; but Kourion may still be the *general* area of origin: Markoe 1985, 176-7.

99 The instrument played by the *hetaíra* (?) on the *klínē* is quite ambiguous; but that of the processional orchestra does seem round-based.

100 See Culican 1982, 15.

101 Fariselli 2007 (17 n. 40) states that Culican 1982, 15, detected a distinctly Assyrian character to the lyre in the outer band of Cy13, and she groups it with other 'eastern' examples (Cr11, Cy3, U6). But Culican's phrase 'particularly Assyrian features' applied only to the player—a crucial distinction. That the lyre is in fact 'western', as suggested by his drawing, is confirmed by its vertical orientation.

them very differently, those differences should be culturally significant'.<sup>102</sup> Conversely musicologists (myself included) have extracted organological data from larger iconographic contexts, without considering how the instruments support, complicate, or contradict prevailing classification schemes. Yet the round-based models open new areas which evade stylistic analysis based on distinguishing the NS and Phoenician traditions, since their lyre-traditions seem too close (iconographically) to differentiate.<sup>103</sup>

Note first that the eastern lyre-morphology dominates in the early phases of Markoe's typological scheme. With one exception (G3: *v. infra*), the Aegean (including Crete) has produced only eastern specimens. Of these, Cy3 is of NS derivation, although its depiction of Cypriot vessel-forms strongly suggests an insular workshop.<sup>104</sup> Of Phoenician or intermediate style are *OJA*, Cr11, G8. By contrast the four 'western' examples (G3, Cy5, Cy7, Cy13) come from phases II-IV, suggesting a secondary typological development. It can hardly be coincidence that the latter three have been found on Cyprus itself. Here we must accept the sane principle that, 'all other factors being equal, a trait or artifact type probably originated somewhere near the center of its distribution'.<sup>105</sup> This is confirmed by the presence of *kypriaká* in Cy5 and Cy13.<sup>106</sup> Moreover, the instrument on Cy7 (Figure 7) has a decorative element on one of its arms which probably corresponds to the floral adornment found on lyres in several Cypriot sculptures and figurines, including a well-known Egyptianizing statue (c.575) said to be from Golgoi (Figure 8).<sup>107</sup> This and several other floral lyres<sup>108</sup>

102 Winter 1976, 20.

103 Since minor variations are always attributable to different workshops. But this question may reward closer scrutiny: cf. n. 104.

104 See n. 77. The lyre is also strikingly similar to that in a NS-style ivory pyxis from Nimrud (Mallowan 1966, 218 fig. 168). U6 is closely related to Cy3, but travelled to Iran.

105 L. R. Binford, quoted by Winter 1990, 14.

106 See nn. 77-8.

107 MMA New York inv. no. 74.51.2509 (45.2 cm high): Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 132, no. 198, where the instrument is misidentified as a triangular harp (also Myres 1914, 199, no. 1264; Karageorghis 2006, 147); Lawergren 1984, 152 n. 4, rightly recognized a round-based lyre with only the front portion sculpted.

108 A comparable instrument is held by a mold-made female figurine, possibly from Lapethos and dated to c.600-480 (Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 148-9, no. 227). Another such figure (tomb, Idalion) apparently a 'floral-post' lyre; unfortunately the instrument is broken (Cesnola 1894, pl. V, no. 29; cf. pl. XXXIV, no. 287). A late and exquisite example, from the Hellenistic period, is Cesnola 1885, pl. cii, no. 676. But this one has a *flat* base, a feature which might be explained by the influence of the Greek *kithára*, but that its outwardly flaring arms make ongoing Levantine influence equally likely, or more so.

are a vivid sign of a vibrant Cypriot lyric tradition in the Archaic period and beyond.<sup>109</sup>

This clear evidence of local Cypriot preference may be compared, and contrasted, with the numerous finds from Italy/Etruria where the cult-music type-scene, though it persisted throughout the life-cycle of the bowls overall, is strikingly absent.<sup>110</sup> This should be added to the evidence there for local preferences in iconography, adaptation to new materials, and re-orientation of use/ideology.<sup>111</sup> Retention and development of the cult-scene through the final typological phases on Cyprus is explicable in the first instance through the fundamental importance there of Astarte/'Aphrodite' cult.<sup>112</sup> It is also this which accounts for the 'confrontation' of 'western' and 'eastern' morphologies within an otherwise similar iconographic context. For while the Cypriot and mainland versions of the goddess were readily identifiable in broad terms (hence the shared iconography) the respective cultural spheres maintained separate senses of identity (whence the variation of detail).

Undoubtedly the morphological distinction implies complex social perceptions that developed and shifted, on a regional basis, with changing Phoenician political fortunes and other demographic trends. While most such nuances now escape us, they should be recognized as a 'known unknown' which can at least help us frame relevant questions. What should we make, for instance, of Cy6 which, though presenting an 'eastern' instrument, carries a Greek inscription in the Cypro-syllabic script; while its find location (Kourion) is not especially distinguished as an area of Phoenician settlement? Is it significant that the later typological phases on Cyprus are represented by only a single eastern specimen? Should the presence of an early 'eastern' example at Idalion be connected with Phoenician metal-hunting in the Troodos foothills? What of the unusual model from Golgoi? Or does elite exchange render any such regional analysis futile within the island? After all, while the iconographic distinction between Cypriot and Syro-Phoenician lyres is clearly intentional and culturally significant, each bowl enjoyed a life of its own, and there is no practical basis for segregating Greek-Cypriot from Phoenician-Cypriot in its 'after-market'

109 Besides Stasinos, note Stê/asandros, the Salaminian 'citharode' who performed 'battles à la Homer' at Delphi, probably in the sixth century (Ath. 638a = Timomachos *FGrH* 754 F 1); Franklin in press-a.

110 But note the situla from the Certosa of Bologna, with its startling duo of panpipe and Phoenicianizing lyre: Fleischhauer 1964, 22-3 fig. 1.

111 Synopsis in Neri 2000, 3-13, noting e.g. emphasis on martial themes and exclusively funerary find-contexts; Markoe 2003, 213-5 (materials/media).

112 For which see generally Karageorghis 1977; Karageorghis 2005.

existence. On the contrary, Cy6 suggests a quite general intermingling of Cypriots of all ethnic backgrounds in the context of elite drinking rituals during the eighth and seventh centuries.

The Olympia bowl (Figure 9) is the only 'western' lyre found in Greece. But this is no evidence of local manufacture for Greek consumption. Who would argue that the other Aegean finds, with 'eastern' lyres, reflect the widespread currency of Phoenician/NS instruments there in ninth/eighth centuries? Cr11, one should note, contains a Phoenician owner's inscription, and of course we now know that there was an important Phoenician presence on Crete at Kommos. To be sure, the seventh-century Alkaios knew that there existed a 'Phoenician lyre' (*phoínix*, presumably in a sympotic context),<sup>113</sup> and it is not hard to believe that this reflects more than familiarity with imported iconography. But it is precisely the *exotic* nature of both bowl and instrument that best accounts for their presence in the Aegean and the poetics of Alkaios. The Olympia bowl is therefore most economically explained in the same terms, with the exception that it must be traced to an extra-Aegean source where round-based lyres had currency. Once again the obvious candidate is a Cypriot workshop. Stylistically the bowl seems to stand midway between NS and Phoenician tradition.<sup>114</sup> That the bowl is inscribed with an Aramaean name is not problematic, given that Cy3, though produced locally, adheres to the NS school (*v. supra*). Moreover, the island has produced a number of early (eighth-seventh century) inscriptions in non-Phoenician Semitic languages, attesting 'the strong interaction among peoples on the island'.<sup>115</sup> Of course we must remember that eighth-century Cilicia has also produced examples of western lyre-morphology in the Karatepe reliefs and the lyre-player group of seals, which present complex interpretive challenges.<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless, a Cypriot origin for G3 remains the most economical explanation given the parallels of Cy5, Cy7, Cy13. It then came through elite circulation to Greece, where the lyre's similarity to contemporary Aegean instruments would have made the bowl simultaneously familiar and exotic; but of course how it passed from Aramaean hands to its final deposition at Olympia remains a mystery.

To conclude, with the symposium bowls too the 'western' lyre-morphology presents a distinctly Cypriot aspect. With its temple-orchestra deployment we

113 For φοίνιξ and related words, West 1992, 59 and nn. 50-1; for the accentuation φοίνιξ, vs. φοίνιξ (*LSJ*), Naoumides 1968, 272.

114 Phoenician: Egyptianizing figures, vertical partition of space (cf. Falsone 1988, 101). NS: rendition of god(dess)/offering table motif, and central design (Frankfort 1970, 327-8).

115 Smith 2008, 264-6 (quotation), with references.

116 Franklin in press-b.

are a world apart from the Aegean. Nevertheless, despite the clear kinship of this performance tradition to the Levant, it need not be that the Cypriot version is secondary and derivative; or if so, that it dates only to the Phoenician 'colonial' period. This may well be a mirage of the *phíalai* and novel iconographic fashions. Any historical dependence on Levantine cult practice, in my view, must be traced at least to the LBA, although one may allow a syncretic re-convergence in the ninth-eighth centuries.

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MAP 1      *Map of Cyprus*



FIGURE 1      *14th-century Egyptian(izing) bowl, drawn from autopsy and photographs in n. 24*



FIGURE 2 *Eleventh-century kálathos from Kouklia (see n. 45), drawn from Iakovou 1988, 72, Figs. 68-7*



FIGURE 3 *Eleventh-century 'Orpheus jug', Megiddo (see n. 54), drawn from Dothan 1982, 150-3 fig. 21.1 (pl. 61)*



FIGURE 4 *Hubbard Amphora* (see n. 59), drawn from Karageorghis & des Gagniers 1974, 1.8-9, 2.7-9



FIGURE 5 *Cyz, Idalion* (New York 74.51.5700), drawn from photograph in Markoe 1985, 247



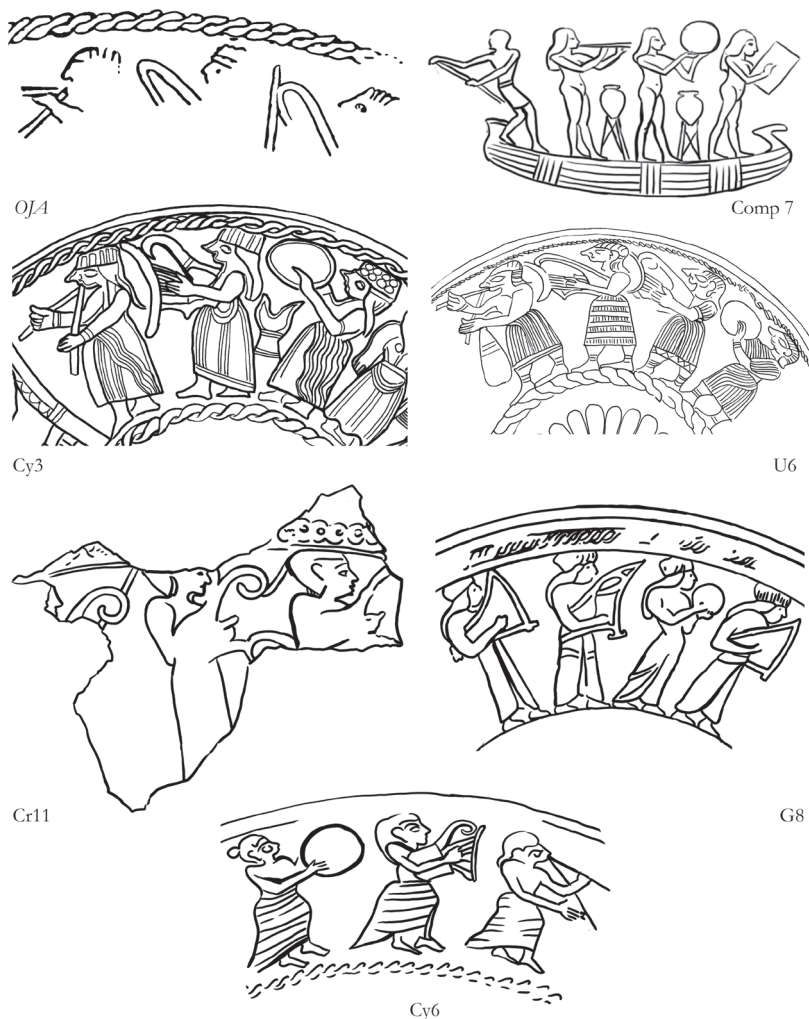


FIGURE 6 Lyres of 'eastern' type from Cypro-Phoenician phiálai, arranged chronologically by Table 1, and including excerpt from Figure 5. G8, Cy3, U6, Cy6, Comp7 drawn from photographs in Markoe 1985; Cr11 after Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. CXXVIII:2 (public domain); OJA after drawing by Alison Wilkins in Popham 1995, 106 n.1 (with permission)





FIGURE 7 Round-based ('western') lyres in Cypro-Phoenician phiálai, arranged chronologically by Table 1, and including excerpt from Figure 9. G3, Cy5, Cy13 drawn from photographs in Markoe 1985; Cy7 after Marquand 1887, pl. XXX (public domain). Both scenes from Cy5 are given. From Cy13 only the 'orchestra' is shown; for the other (non-lyre) scenes, see nn. 89, 92



FIGURE 8 *Limestone sculpture, sixth century (see n. 107), MMA New York inv. 74.51.2509, drawn from Karageorghis 2006, 147, fig. 138*



FIGURE 9 *G3, Olympia (Athens 7941), drawn from photograph in Markoe 1985*